

Second Edition  
September, 1948

# LENINISM

## An Analysis of Doctrine and Practice

*Published by the British Society for International Understanding.  
Benjamin Franklin House, 36, Craven Street, London, W.C.2.*



Lenin during the October Revolution, 1917.—(*Pictorial Press*).

# LENINISM.

## I.

### THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM.

**T**HE issues between the three Great Powers which headed the victorious alliance against Germany and Japan in the Second World War have become the main international problem of our times. Great Britain and America, on the one hand, the Soviet Union, on the other, find themselves in disagreement on virtually every major international question. In this disagreement Western Europe and the rest of the non-Communist world usually side with the so-called "Western" Powers against the U.S.S.R. and its Eastern European neighbour-satellites, splitting the world between East and West.

The aim of this survey is to set out the facts and so make it possible to understand the hard problems besetting international concord in the post-war world. There can be no understanding of world events—whether in Europe, Asia or elsewhere—resulting from this clash of interests without first grasping what are the principles underlying the programme of World Communism.

Recent developments in Europe have thrown into sharp relief the results of putting the Communist programme into practice by exploiting the opportunities offered by the Resistance movements, the U.S.S.R.'s war-time alliances and the economic consequences of the war. Events have moved swiftly since Mr. Marshall's Harvard speech of June 5th, 1947, and the drafting of the European Recovery Programme at the Paris Conference, summoned by Mr. Bevin in response to that speech, in July. The breakdown of the Conference of Foreign Ministers in London in November 1947 made it clear that there could be no hope of agreement with the Soviets on the question of Germany or of European recovery except on their own terms. Russia has rejected—and caused her satellites to reject—the European Recovery Programme.† Now the Soviet Government loses no opportunity of attacking it and ascribing the actions of the U.S.A. to motives of "imperialist-monopolist expansion."

#### Partition of Europe.

There is now, nearly three years after the end of the war, no prospect of a real peace settlement in Europe. The truth is indeed beginning to dawn that, whereas in the West the establishment of peace is instinctively assumed to be the proper culmination of and sequel to a war waged for the sake of justice,\* a "settlement" is the last thing which the Soviet Government desires. The Soviet Union now controls, either directly or through Communist-dominated local Governments, nearly all East and Central Europe,

† This is the official name of the "Marshall Plan."

\* This assumption has been one of the axioms of Christian civilization since St. Augustine wrote sixteen centuries ago "War is waged in order that peace may be won. Be a peacemaker therefore even as you fight the war, that by overcoming your adversaries you may bring them to see the values of peace." Ep. ad Bonifacium. 6 (Migne P.L. 33. 856).

including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania, as well as the Eastern Zones of Germany and Austria. In February 1948, the last meeting-ground between East and West, the democratic republic of Czechoslovakia, was added to the list ; and the next step was to be a "Treaty of Mutual Assistance" with Finland. Greece alone holds out. Further to the East, Turkey and Iran are points where strong diplomatic and propagandist pressure is being applied by the U.S.S.R. The Middle East, near the Soviet frontiers, and Scandinavia may be regarded as the extreme flanks of the line which Soviet Russia holds across Europe at present.

The Soviet sphere of influence in Europe thus reaches from the Baltic to the Adriatic and the Black Sea, a vast area which is being rapidly organized strategically, politically and economically with the Soviet Union itself as a single bloc. The peoples of the thirteen various nationalities and countries in it number some 136 millions. Seldom in history, certainly not in European history, has there been so swift and so extensive an addition to power. It means that half Europe no longer lives with the values of Western Civilization but is held in the grip of the Communist system which is the government of the people by the Party for the Party, the so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat." This situation destroys the balance of power in Europe. But unless and until Russia succeeds in uniting the whole of Germany under a Communist regime she cannot be master of Europe. The crux of the whole European problem is Germany. It is because of this that no agreement was reached at the London Conference. This is the reason for the crisis which has arisen in Berlin. It is of vital interest to the United States, no less than to Great Britain, that no single Power, and least of all a Power whose creed and policy are those of expansion by revolution, should dominate the Continent of Europe.

The E.R.P., because it aims at restoring the freedom and economic well-being of Europe, has forced the Soviet Union to a re-declaration of its policy and aims.

## **THE AIMS OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY.**

### **Zhdanov and the "Cominform."**

In September 1947, Zhdanov made the first broad statement of Russian foreign policy since the war. It revives the Communist plan for aggressive Party action. His "Report on the International Situation," delivered to the conference of nine Communist Parties in Warsaw, was released by the Soviet wireless on October 22nd, 1947. Zhdanov holds the twin, key posts of Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party and leading member of the Politburo. This is a council of thirteen men who are at one and the same time the core of the Soviet Government and the supreme directorate of Communist policy and action throughout the world. Zhdanov was war-time defender and post-war Controller of Leningrad and Soviet Commissioner for the Finnish Peace Treaty. His death was reported at the end of August 1948.

Zhdanov's main argument was taken up by Molotov's speech to the Moscow Soviet on November 6th, 1947, on the eve of the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the October Revolution. This occasion was hailed in Russia as the most important landmark since the end of the war.

At the Warsaw meeting the establishment of the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) was announced and its purpose explained by Zhdanov. This amounts to a new, open method for the international co-ordination of Communist propaganda and directives, outwardly proclaimed dead when the Comintern (Communist International) was dissolved in 1943. The headquarters of the Cominform is at Bucharest. Its members comprise two delegates of the Communist Parties of each of the following countries :—the U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, France and Italy—Jugoslavia being at present (September 1948) "excommunicated."

As a matter of tactics the importance of the change is that the policy of the United Front with Social Democratic and Liberal groups, which had held the field since the 7th World Congress of the Comintern in 1935, is now being abandoned in favour of direct revolutionary action reminiscent of the 1920s. Evidence of this new aggressive policy soon appeared, for instance, in the ruthless liquidation of the Peasant Party leaders and of all Social Democrats who display any independence in Eastern Europe ; in the strikes, sabotage and violence organized in France and Italy during the session of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in London in November and December 1947 ; and in the continuing incidents in Germany designed to delay a settlement of the German problem and so to wreck the Marshall Plan for reconstruction in Western Europe. The success of the E.R.P. is bound up with the future of Germany. This explains the deadlock in Berlin brought about by the Russians in July 1948. The Western Powers are in Berlin as of right, based on the Agreement drawn up by the European Advisory Commission on September 12th, 1944, and they are applying in their zones the principles adopted at Potsdam, which but for the obstruction of the Soviet Government would have applied to Germany as a whole. But in spite of its dramatic importance, the Berlin crisis was only a tactical stage to pave the way for further Communist advances in Europe, where they received some serious setbacks during the Summer of 1948, and in Asia. No permanent solution can be achieved on a purely European basis. The simultaneous outbreak of disturbances and violence in Malaya is significant, and appears to reveal plans for intensified Communist infiltration in the East and for Soviet attack by what Lenin called "the back door of the capitalist and imperialist powers," in order to rouse the "new proletariat of dependent peoples" to revolutionary action.

### **The World "divided into two camps."**

The immediate cause of these precipitate Soviet activities in the international field is the European Recovery Programme. The Communist declaration in Warsaw develops Moscow's opposition

to the Plan. "The Truman-Marshall Plan is only the European section of the general plan of world-expansion being carried out by the U.S.A. in all parts of the world." Zhdanov defines the opposing camps as "two main directions in post-war international policy, corresponding to the division of the world political forces into two main camps—the imperialist, anti-democratic camp on the one hand, and the anti-imperialist, democratic camp on the other. The main guiding force of the imperialist camp is the U.S.A. Britain and France are in alliance with the U.S.A., and, moreover, the existence of a Labour Government in Britain and a Socialist Government in France does not prevent Britain or France from following the imperialist policy of the U.S.A. as its satellites. The imperialist camp is also supported by such colonial countries as Belgium and Holland, countries with reactionary, anti-democratic regimes such as Turkey and Greece, countries dependent politically and economically on the U.S.A., like those of the Middle East, South America, and China. The main object of the imperialist camp is the preparation of a new imperialist war, the fight against Socialism and democracy, and universal support for reactionary and anti-democratic pro-Fascist regimes and movements. In the solution of these problems the imperialist camp is attempting to gain the support of reactionary and anti-democratic forces in all countries and to support its military antagonists of yesterday against its former Allies."

"The anti-imperialist, anti-Fascist forces comprise the other camp. The corner stone of this camp is the U.S.S.R., and the countries of the new democracy [*i.e.* those in the Russian sphere of influence]. It includes such countries as have broken with imperialism and firmly set foot on the road of democratic development, such as Rumania, Hungary and Finland. The anti-imperialist camp is joined by Viet Nam and the Indonesian Republic, and it has the sympathies of India, Egypt and Syria. This camp bases itself on the support of the workers and democratic movements and on the fraternal Communist Parties in all countries, on the fighters of the National Liberation Movement in the colonies and dependent countries and on the support of all the democratic forces which exist in every country. The aim of this camp is the struggle against the threat of fresh war and imperialist expansion, and the strengthening of democracy and eradication of the remnants of Fascism."

### **The Basis of Soviet Foreign Policy.**

"Soviet foreign policy is based on the recognition of the fact of the protracted existence of two systems—Capitalism and Socialism. The Soviet policy aims at maintaining good relations with all countries which desire to co-operate. The U.S.S.R. always was and continues true to the commitments to which it has pledged itself with the opposite system. A completely different policy is being carried out by the U.S.A. and Britain, who desire to renounce their commitments so as to have their hands free for their new policy aimed at violating the rights and interests of democratic peoples and isolating the U.S.S.R."

"In defining Soviet policy with regard to Germany, Comrade Stalin pointed out that 'in short, the policy of the Soviet Union as regards the German question may be summed up as Germany's demilitarisation and democratisation . . . as one of the most important conditions for the establishment of a stable and lasting peace.' However this policy is savagely resisted by the U.S. and British imperialist circles. They wish to liquidate Germany as an entity, to dismember her and to settle the question of peace separately."

A good deal of Zhdanov's Report is taken up with an all out attack on the U.S.A. and the "American Plan for the enslavement of Europe," their military and strategic plans in Alaska, Japan, Italy, South Korea, China, Egypt, Iran, Turkey, Greece, Austria and in Western Germany: even in Afghanistan and Nepal. "There is still a military alliance between Britain and the U.S.A. The U.S.A. have extended their control over the armed forces and military plans of Britain and Canada. Under the banner of the joint defence of the Western Hemisphere the inclusion of Latin American countries in the orbit of U.S. military expansionist plans is in progress . . . . The active support rendered to reactionary, anti-democratic forces all over the world, the rejection of the Potsdam decisions, the protection extended to Japanese reactionaries, the intensification of military preparations, the accumulation of the stocks of atomic bombs—all that is accompanied by an offensive against the elementary democratic rights of working people inside the U.S.A." Zhdanov then explains the Marshall Plan as an attempt to make Western Europe "a U.S. protectorate in which the part assigned to the sovereign states of Europe, not excluding Britain herself, is not very remote from the part of the 49th State of the U.S.A." "As far as the U.S.S.R. is concerned it will make every effort to prevent this plan from being realised." Against this background of propaganda the Communist Parties are called on to develop their strength both nationally and internationally and unite against these new plans for war and aggression. "A co-ordination of action" is necessary "to organize and bind together the elements for the rebirth of international Socialism on the revolutionary Marxist basis and carry on the fight of a united Communist front on the international scale." It is in this spirit—the spirit of a determined stand for the Party—that the permanent Information Bureau, Cominform, has been set up for nine European countries. It will increase the scope of Communist foreign-political activity and increase the importance of the Soviet State's foreign policy based upon the principles of World-Communism.

All the ingredients of Soviet theory, propaganda and practice are in Zhdanov's statement. The main headlines of the Report, as given by the Tass wireless transmission and broadcast to Soviet home listeners, are a general key to the themes of Soviet policy and propaganda.

1. The post-war world situation.
2. The post-war alignment of political forces and creation of two camps—imperialist, anti-democratic and the anti-imperialist, democratic camps.

3. The American Plan for the enslavement of Europe.
4. The tasks of the Communist Parties with regard to the welding of the democratic and peace-loving elements against the new plans for war and aggression."

The main items of Soviet activity in foreign affairs are unceasing attacks on British policy everywhere ; constant Soviet vetoes in the United Nations Security Council ; an all out determination to wreck the E.R.P. (of which events in Czechoslovakia and Finland are stages) and, above all, a crescendo of criticism and attacks against the present foreign policy of the United States. These aspects of world affairs are always treated within the framework of, and with reference to, the theory and practice of Communism and Marxist-Leninism, which forms a body of doctrine and plan of campaign. These themes are repeated, daily, with such variations as the tactical needs of day to day policy demand, on the Soviet radio and in the Soviet and Soviet-controlled press.

Two events in the Summer of 1948 provided instructive examples showing how the Russians may be "regrouping their forces—after the tactical concessions of the War and its immediate sequels—for a resumption of the main strategic advance on orthodox Communist lines.

Firstly, they issued a Central Committee directive that Party members must disseminate anti-religious teaching, particularly in schools, promoting the thesis that "there is no place for God in the Socialist Universe." There has been no emphasis on this tenet of Communist orthodoxy since 1942 ; the Orthodox Church was on the contrary used to add spiritual stimulus to the war effort. Propaganda in favour of the Russian Church for abroad, particularly Eastern Europe, is so far not affected by the new order and the leaders of nearly all Orthodox Churches—including the Œcumenical Patriarchs' representative—met in Moscow for quinqucentenary Church celebrations in July, 1948.

The second example was the expulsion in June 1948 of Tito and the Yugoslav Communist Party by the Cominform for alleged diversionism—for throwing the accent too much on Yugoslav nationalism and on Balkan Federation, rather than on orthodox "internationalism" (allegiance to Russia). They were also accused of failing to carry out the correct Leninist programme, and in particular of not carrying the "class war" sufficiently vigorously into the countryside and setting the poorer peasants against the richer. The H.Q. of the Comintern moved from Belgrade to safer ground, in Bucharest, while the dispute continues.

### **THE STRUCTURE OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT.**

Many people find this attitude on the part of the Soviet Government very bewildering. Their main difficulty is to grasp the ideological background of the one-party Communist State. To see how inextricably control of the Soviet State is vested in the Communist Party Organization it is first of all necessary to examine the structure of the Soviet Government.

The U.S.S.R. or Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is an associ-

ation (by Constitution voluntary) of 16 Union Republics. Its administration is based on the "Soviets," the original Workers' Councils formed at the Revolution in 1917. The Republics are : firstly, Russia proper—the R.S.F.S.R. ; the two other main Republics—the Ukraine and Belorussia ; the Baltic Republics—Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and the Karelo-Finnish S.S.R. ; the Central Asian and Transcaucasian Republics—the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Tadzhik, Turkmen, Armenian, Azerbaijan and Georgian S.S.R.'s; and finally the Moldavian S.S.R. including Bessarabia. The R.S.F.S.R. comprises the Soviet Far East, including Khabarovsk and Vladivostok, and the vast lightly-populated regions of Siberia in the North.\* The 16 basic or Union Republics, comprising a number of additional "autonomous," subsidiary administrative units, are inhabited by many different nationalities. This nucleus of nations and states was destined, in theory, to expand till it became the Union of the Socialist Republics of the world. The accession of Bessarabia (the Moldavian S.S.R.) and the Baltic Republics as a result of the war might be viewed as a step in this originally intended direction. Moscow is not therefore viewed merely as a national capital : it is to be the centre of this expanding, potentially world-wide system. It continues to be represented in Russian propaganda as the centre of world-wide "democratic" aspirations.

The Central or Union Government of the U.S.S.R. is exercised by two independent organizations. One, the Communist Party, is in effect the Executive and is responsible for decisions and control through its Central Committee. Its main lines of policy are laid down by the Politburo. The other is the official State Government responsible for the administration of the State's policy and for underwriting the Party's decisions. Many of the senior offices in these two executive and administrative organizations are held by the same persons, who are, in effect, the real rulers of the Soviet Union. The most important of these leading men, all members of the Politburo (Political Bureau of the Communist Party), are :—

Stalin—head of the State Government, and one of the only three members of *all* senior Party organs.

Zhdanov (until his mysterious death) and Malenkov were the other two, and were both associated with the direction of the Cominform.

Molotov—Foreign Minister.

Beria—Former Head of the Secret Police and now in charge of Atomic Energy development.

Andreyev—In charge of Soviet Agriculture.

Kaganovitch—Post-war Party Chief in the Ukraine, now in Moscow.

Khrushchev—Party Chief of the Ukraine.

Mikoyan—Minister for Foreign Trade.

Marshal Voroshilov

\* The area of the Russian Federation is 6,609,000 square miles and its population in 1939 was given as 109,279,000 ; the area of all the other non-Russian Republics is 2,099,070 square miles with a population of 82,609,445 (1939-40 figures).



Voznesensky—Controller of the Five-Year Plan.  
Kosygin—Newly appointed Finance Chief.  
Marshal Bulganin—Minister of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The State Government is administered by the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers (or Cabinet), headed by Stalin, theoretically responsible to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Council, or Parliament, whose President is Shvernik. The Supreme Council meets about once a year and the business of government is normally conducted by a nucleus known as the Praesidium, whose interim decisions are confirmed at the Supreme Council's periodic sessions. The Supreme Council consists of two Chambers whose members are elected by the people of the U.S.S.R.

There are some 50 Ministries in all, including the vital Ministries of Internal Affairs and State Security, the successors to the Tsarist Secret Police. It should be noted that Communist control of the equivalent of these Ministries ("Ministry of the Interior") has preceded Communist action in each of the Eastern European countries now under Soviet influence. No opposition is tolerated and no Opposition candidates are put forward for election. This dual control of affairs by Party and Government is reproduced at every administrative level, down to the Factory Management and the Party Cell in the factory. The pyramid of control is subject to rigid discipline, and each level receives orders from above. The Party Cell is the primary organ of the Party. Control of this administrative discipline and of internal security and Party orthodoxy is maintained by the Ministries of the Interior and State Security, mentioned above, who command armed forces for the purpose.

Of the two legislative Chambers, one consists of an equal number of representatives from each of the Union Republics and is known as the Council of the Union. The other Chamber is the Council of Nationalities containing representatives of each of the nationalities of the U.S.S.R.

The 16 Union Republics are constitutionally independent and, in theory, could claim independent foreign representation. In fact, in addition to the U.S.S.R., two of these Republics, the Ukraine and Belorussia, have independent representation in the United Nations. Absolute control is, however, exercised in fact by the central Party directorate, despite the decentralization of administrative machinery.

### **THE COMMUNIST PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.**

Until and unless we take the trouble to master the Marxist-Leninist theory, we cannot understand the Soviet attitude in international affairs or their political offensive against their late allies in the war. "The power of Marxist-Leninist theory is that it enables the Party to find the right orientation in any situation, to understand the inner connections of current events, to foresee their course, and to perceive not only how and in what direction they are developing in the present, but how and in what direction they are bound to develop in the future. Only a Party which has mastered Marxist-Leninist theory can confidently advance and lead the working class forward"—so

writes Stalin in the *Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. This book and his *Problems of Leninism* are text-books of the Party. Only those unable to read need be in any doubt as to the plans of Soviet Russia. These books contain the theory, creed, system, methods and practice of the Communist State. They contain the directions and plans for the proletarian Revolution and the universal establishment of Communism. They are translated into all U.S.S.R. and many external languages, and published by the State Publishing House of Political Literature, Moscow. The last English edition of *Problems of Leninism* was issued by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, in 1945.

### **The Sacred Books.**

The Lenin-Stalin works are "a mighty weapon for the ideological training of cadres." The Party has, since 1917, been guided in the Socialist transformation of one-sixth of the world "by the one certain compass of Marxist-Leninism." The basis of this training is concentrated in the "priceless treasure" of the Lenin-Stalin works, now available to scores of millions of the Soviet people in some 612 million copies and in 31 million copies of the new *Short History of the Party*. (It has been a cardinal point of the Communist Party's policy to attain a hundred per cent literacy.) "The whole history of Soviet Society is a triumph of Marxist-Leninism." In the concluding period of the revolution and the transition to Communism ideological work assumes a particular importance. Workers on the ideological front are more than ever in the vanguard of Communism. An important part in the Communist education of the workers is assigned to Marxist-Leninist philosophy. "Our cadres can avail themselves of the classics of Lenin and Stalin to learn how to make the Marxist-Leninist philosophy serve the interests of the workers in the fight for Communism." There are thirty volumes of Lenin's works and seven of Stalin's. Stalin is confident that the ideological training of cadres up to the point of finding their own true orientation in internal and international affairs would satisfy most of the country's problems. The achievement of this purpose is dependent on the profound study of the Lenin-Stalin works and the practical application of the experience so gained. (These quotations and statements are from a leader in *Pravda* of August 26th, 1947).

### **Communism—A Challenge to the Western Way of Life.**

In any attempt to understand the Marxist-Leninist theory it is most important to realise that it is not a fixed and unchanging dogma but a theory which is to be constantly adapted to changing conditions and problems—"It is not a dogma but a guide to action," says Stalin. Communism is not only a body of doctrine, a philosophy of the State, but a plan of campaign; in other words—a dynamic creed. This creed, called dialectical materialism, holds that the world is by its very essence *material*; that that is nature, an objective reality existing outside and independent of mind: that matter

is primary, the source of all sensations, ideas, mind. This material world is the *only* reality. Mind is only a reflection of matter : thought is a product of matter. The brain is only a product of matter and is the material organ of thought, and one cannot separate thought from matter. Marxist-Leninist materialism denies that there is any spirit above nature. "Mind is merely the highest product of matter."\* These are the premisses of the Marxist-Leninist theory. This view of the world has no need for a "universal spirit" or "absolute idea." It is contrary to idealism and denies any independent life of the mind or spirit. This materialist conception of Man and the universe, as thus expounded by the official prophets of Communism, Marx, Lenin and Stalin, ignores the values and standards which are the bases of Western culture and civilization and is in direct opposition to Christianity, the great preservative influence of Western culture. Communism and the Marxist-Leninist philosophy of dialectical materialism are a challenge to the great traditions which are the heritage of Christendom—belief in God and an objective Moral Law; the worth of the human person and his reason ; the brotherhood of men, and the conciliation of order with liberty. In so far as these values are found in other religious or philosophical systems, as Judaism, Islam, Confucianism, and Buddhism they too are the enemies of Marxism.†

Finally, Marx accepts only the influence of economic conditions on human life and events, and denies the influence of ideas. Marx's German philosopher-model, Hegel, taught that progress comes from the conflict of ideas which clash and give birth to new ones. Marx adapted this to economic class conflict, whereby society is held to advance inevitably by violent clashes, through inherent contradictions, to new and "higher" *economic* orders. It is for this reason that Marx and Lenin ignore the Christian ethic. This is the true essence of the "cold war" whose outward signs are diplomatic and economic rivalry throughout the world between "the two camps" postulated by Zhdanov. The Western way of life, based on a moral law above the State and on the Christian religion, is pitted against "economic determinism," which holds that moral and social values, which are the substance of European civilization, are empty superstition and the hall mark of decadent capitalism. We are thus

\* History of the Communist Party, 1938.

† Thus Lenin, for instance : "We say with assurance that we do not believe in God . . . . We decry all this morality borrowed from concepts exterior to class or even to humanity . . . . Our own morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the proletariat and the needs of the class struggle." (*Address to the Third All-Russian Congress of Communist Youth*). Stalin is no less explicit in repudiating the rule of law : "The scientific concept, dictatorship, means nothing more or less than power which directly rests on violence, which is not limited by any laws or restricted by any absolute rules. . . . Dictatorship means unlimited power, resting on violence and not on law." (*Problems of Leninism*). This has not prevented the Soviet Government from taking advantage, on occasion, of the Byzantine tradition, which it inherited from Tsarist Russia, and from utilizing the Russian Orthodox Church for the purpose of securing the subordination of the Orthodox communities of Eastern Europe and the Middle East to the Moscow Patriarchate—or, for that matter, organizing Mahommedan pilgrimages to Mecca.

committed to a major battle along the front of the "iron curtain" for nothing less than the mind of man. The Communist is impervious to reason on any other wave-length than the doctrine of the Party: his wireless mechanism is jammed at "send." The secret of Communist success is the domination by a well organized and directed "robot" minority over the "disorientated" mass of well-meaning, thinking men who because they think and are "humane," think in varying directions and have consequently no organized defence. One of the gravest charges, for instance, levelled at "the reaction" by Communist propaganda is that it seeks to "disorientate" and "split" the organized Communist core and to counter the efforts of Communist activists to "orientate" or direct and render "monolithic" its worker raw-material.

## LENINISM II.

### THE MEANING OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

WHILE the practical effects of Soviet policy are now sufficiently alarming to promote equally practical counter-measures in the West without much attention to theories, it is impossible to understand what is at the back of it all without grasping the fundamental theory from which that policy arises.

Here then is that theory, as set forth in official works. Leninism is Lenin's adaptation of the theory of Marx. As an integrated "philosophy for action" the Soviet leaders call it "Marxism-Leninism." The basis of Marxism-Leninism is *dialectical materialism*; *historical materialism* is a specific application of this. Stalin has summarised the basic principles in Chapter 4 of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. This standard Party text book was first published in Russian in the U.S.S.R. in 1938; an authorised English translation was also published in the U.S.S.R. in 1939 and reprinted in Great Britain in 1943.

Dialectical materialism is Marx's adaptation of Hegel's theory. Hegel\* called the process of thinking *the Idea*, and he called the Idea the creator of the material world. To Hegel the universe was only the visible form of the Idea: reality was the Idea itself and its essential nature was movement, development, transformation. Marx, on the contrary, turned this argument inside out and taught that the idea is a function of the material world, reflected by the human mind; that thought is only *things* translated into *ideas*.

The Soviet materialist is of a particular sort: he is a dialectical materialist. Dialectics comes from a Greek word (*διαλέγειν*) meaning to discourse or debate, and was the art of arriving at the truth by disclosing the contradictions in the argument of an opponent and overcoming these contradictions. The term dialectical is a very ancient one in philosophy. Running through its history is the notion of movement, or dynamism. In his Republic Plato used the term dialectics to denote the highest of all intellectual undertakings, that of discovering the relations between those ideas which to him were the ultimate reality. This is the famous method used by Socrates to confound his opponents in discourse and to arrive at the truth.

This dialectical method was applied by Marx to the phenomena of nature. He regarded nature as developing by means of contradictions and opposing forces in material things. This approach is hostile to metaphysics, because most systems of metaphysics emphasise the changeless, the unmoving or *a priori* truths.† Dialectical materialism is dialectical in analysing natural phenomena, but materialist in its interpretation of them. The term dialectical in combination with materialism means the view (a) that reality is solely material, (b) that matter is constantly evolving. *Historical*

\* German Philosopher 1770 to 1831.

† e.g. the place of the Natural Law in Stoic and Christian philosophy.

*materialism* is the application of these same principles to the study of human society and its history. This philosophy is basic to the Soviet régime : historical materialism is one part of Soviet philosophy which, as a whole, is called dialectical materialism. The essential thing to grasp is that, according to this notion, the classes of society, like other things in the world, are in a state of evolution through conflict and opposition. Under this system, then, nature is a whole and phenomena are conditioned and determined by each other, never in isolation. Nature is never still but is in a constant state of flux, one thing arising or growing while another is decaying and dying. All natural phenomena are in a state of constant struggle against each other. This development is not just simple growth but involves sudden abrupt changes which can rapidly alter the quantity of things and change them into a new quality.

The main challenge of this theory of the universe to the West is that it denies all spiritual and intellectual ideals, principles or laws underlying phenomena. There is no "absolute idea," no idea of God ; only different forms of matter in process of change according to material laws. Matter is the beginning and end of reality—nothing exists outside it—mind and will, ideas and motives, in fact the whole intellectual, spiritual and emotional life of man are only a reflection of material things. Applied to the laws of human society this means that the facts of material, economic conditions *pre-determine* the stage and political form of society. These material conditions are reflected in the "classes" of human society and it is out of this conflict or dialectic of the classes—the "class-struggle"—that changes in society are brought about. Class-struggle is the term given to conflicts into which people are drawn on account of their economic relationships, that is their relationship to the means of production. This process is, however, not of free will ; it is an inexorable "law of nature." This material view of the world found its first political expression in the ideology of Communism which makes a social system and dogma of it in the form of *economic determinism*. According to this creed the history and evolution of society are determined by inexorable and material laws. These laws deny the individual any freedom of choice in shaping his way of life. This system is the opposite to Western tradition. To the West the individual is the unit of salvation, and it is this belief in the dignity of the individual which has been mainly responsible for the irresistible insistence upon personal liberty.

### HISTORICAL MATERIALISM AS A GUIDE TO COMMUNIST ACTION.

The arguments, the official language and terminology of Marxism-Leninism (like the obsession of the Prussian mind, from which they spring, with its "ismus" or codified abstraction) are strange to us and difficult to make clear to ourselves or to others in every day speech ; yet the members of the Communist Party are indoctrinated with this ideology, and accept it as a political creed, an economic doctrine and a programme for action. Until we take the trouble to understand Soviet philosophy and find out what the Soviet peoples

are actually taught to believe, we cannot explain the programme of Communism. People who say they want to understand the Soviet Union but will not examine Stalin's exposition of its philosophy are pursuing a will o' the wisp. If we grasp its principles and apply them to the study of Society and its history certain conclusions follow which are essential to the doctrine of the Communist State. Marx tried to fit the whole of history into the limits of his own intelligence and succeeded, through his followers Lenin and Stalin, in imposing his view of Society on the U.S.S.R. and in making dialectical Materialism the working hypothesis of the Communist State.

This is a "science" (the Soviets are always claiming that their policy and the development of events are "scientific") of history which explains every stage in history as due to inevitable dialectical causes. The policy of this system, dialectical and historical materialism, is Communism.

If matter alone is life and is the origin of life and all things in nature are inter-dependent and in a state of recurrent violent change to new qualitative forms, then social systems, which have no other justification than their material conditions, are also in a similar state of change. A study of the conditions which produce them is the only way to understand them. As changes in the material world happen by sudden developments through a struggle between contradictions and opposites in matter, so revolutions and struggles between classes are a natural and inevitable part of social development. What characterizes any social system, according to Marx, is the way in which material values are produced and the inter-relation of producers.

Production is always changing and developing and so brings about changes in the social system and in the political and intellectual ideas built on it. Commenting on social progress Stalin writes: "New Social ideas and theories arise only after the development of the material life of Society has set new tasks before Society. But once they have arisen they become a potent force which facilitates the progress of Society." Historical materialists agree that the dynamic involved in bringing about changes in economic production is the class struggle, and that the means of hastening the changes in the material life of Society is revolution. Such radical and progressive "improvements" in economic relationships have happened often in human history. The epoch-making transitions, according to Marx, are those from primitive Communal to ancient Slave Economy, from the Slave Economy of the ancient world to the Feudalism and landowning class of the Middle Ages, from the Feudal System to modern Capitalism and from Capitalism to Socialism.\* In each case a system of economic production has become outmoded. This is obviously not an adequate historical account of the main factors in the evolution of human Society, but it is the basic hypothesis chosen by Marx and Lenin to account for social and economic history.

New production systems start and develop without human

\* "Socialism" in these pages means what Marx, Lenin and Stalin mean by the term: it does not, except where the context so indicates, mean Social Democracy or "Reformist Socialism."

influence. Human beings change and improve the existing scheme of things unconsciously and without understanding the social results of the changes. But the essential aspect of this subject to Marx and Lenin is that, once this unconscious change in conditions has started, the new classes who are in opposition to the established ruling class complete and hasten the overthrow of the old order by revolution and conflict. The prevailing system of economic relationships suffers radical change and a heroic contest follows to overthrow the existing type of class structure. The final stage in this inexorable evolution is to be the victory of the proletariat, which means the industrial working class.

This theory of unconscious and inevitable social change does not mean that the Communist Party, the self-appointed leader and "military staff" of the proletariat, accepts social revolution as an independent process, inherent in the nature of things. On the contrary, sooner or later the changes and improvements reach a point where they cannot be absorbed by the existing type of class structure. Once this happens every support must be given to the rising social forces to overcome and destroy the existing system.

This is the doctrine of the proletarian revolution. "In order to influence the conditions of the material life of Society and accelerate their development and improvement," Stalin says, "the Party must rely on a social theory which correctly reflects the needs of development of the material life of Society and which is capable of setting in motion broad masses of the people and organizing and mobilising them into a great army prepared to smash the reactionary forces and clear the way for the advanced forces of Society."

### **THE INSTRUMENT OF REVOLUTION ; THE CLASS STRUGGLE.**

These notions of dialectical and historical materialism constitute the mainspring of the Communist programme. The forces of Capitalism are the decaying forces of modern Society ; the forces of Socialism the rising forces, which will be victorious through the aid of the proletarian revolution. This process is supposed to be happening universally as a series of contemporary events characteristic of the same epoch throughout the world. The contradictions and opposites which are striving for mastery are represented in the classes which have grown up under Capitalism. In class struggle lies the whole process of social development. It is well to bear in mind that there are always "given conditions," conditions given by the past history of the human race and the point of development it has reached at any particular time. Not mere possibilities but historical actualities are in question. Basic to the whole situation is the specific character of the forces of production. The key to this Soviet theory is that history moves onward through struggles over the forces of production. We belong to a certain class because of "common relationship" to the means of production. The relationship is in respect to control, ownership or use of them. One of the main tenets of Marx is that under Capitalism the means of production remain the property of private owners or Capitalists.



The Capitalists own the means of production and hire others to work upon them. Those so hired have this in common, that they work upon but do not own the means of production. The writings of Stalin and Lenin have developed Marx's theory of irreconcilable contradiction between Labour and Capital into a charter of the doctrines or principles of Communism. "Capitalism is pregnant with revolution, the aim of which is to replace existing capitalist ownership." Lenin and Stalin are bitter opponents of Social Democracy and Trade Unionism as representing the theory of Socialism by gradual development and reform. These are only stages which may be used and then discarded, like the bourgeoisie, when conditions are ripe for Communism. "In order not to err in policy," Stalin insists, "one must be a revolutionary and not a reformist." The internal contradictions of Capitalism must be exposed, the class struggle intensified and fought out to a finish.

### **IMPERIALISM ; THE DECADENT PHASE OF CAPITALISM AND SIGNAL FOR WORLD REVOLUTION.**

Lenin added to Marxism the argument that moribund Capitalism (the fourth age of the world) "reached its last stage of decay in imperialism." The contradictions supposed to be inherent in Capitalism then reached their extreme form and the despairing attempt to save Capitalist power resulted in the ever-increasing domination by the Imperialist Powers over the less advanced and developed "colonial" peoples and areas of the world. This "exploitation of colonial and dependent peoples," postulated by Marxism as reaching its acute stage under "imperialism," creates a new class of proletarians and a revolutionary movement of the colonial peoples against the "contradictions of imperialism." "Leninism is the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution."

This struggle of the colonial peoples against imperialism and foreign capitalists accompanies the increasing struggle at home by the working classes, *thus transferring the struggle to the international arena and making world revolution inevitable.* Imperialism leads to increasing rivalry and periodic wars between capitalist powers for markets and sources of raw material. Lenin argues that imperialism makes a balance of economic power impossible, and regards further wars as an inevitable consequence of the capitalist system.

### **National Revolution a means to World Revolution.**

It is important to note various developments in Marxian thought regarding the possibility of attaining the objectives of Socialism and Communism. Marx and Engels held, for instance, that the victory of the Socialist revolution was impossible except as a world-wide event, a co-operative effort in a group of leading countries. Lenin, however, talked of the "law of uneven development of capitalism." In the period of world imperialism, that is, the rivalries of contending powers and the difficulties of capitalism reach different degrees of acuteness in different parts of the world. Lenin therefore concluded that a socialist revolution could be

victorious in one country, the "weak link" of the imperialist chain. Russia proved such a country for various reasons advanced by Stalin, one reason given being that the revolutionary proletariat had a great ally in the vast mass of the peasantry. *Actually this was one of the chief issues dividing Stalin and Trotsky.* Trotsky held that "the contradictions in the workers' government in a backward country with an overwhelming peasant population can be solved only on an international scale, in the arena of world revolution." But Lenin's and Stalin's policy won the day against Trotsky's policy at that time (1927-28), and the construction of an operating socialist society was practically completed in the former Russian Empire before 1939. Stalin now holds that Socialism in one country can be transformed into Communism in one country and that under his leadership the Soviet Union is consolidating a Communist State.

Stalin's one exception to the pure theory of Communism is in the matter of stateless administration, *i.e.* the notion that eventually the State will disappear. In Stalin's view and actual practice, the apparatus of state force, embodied in secret police, army and navy and absolute internal censorship is necessary until economic conflicts disappear from the world as a whole. This is the dialectical method in practice. Hence the co-existence of the Soviet Union and of imperialist states is possible for a certain period but not for long—"The overthrow of the bourgeoisie and establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country does not mean that the complete victory of Socialism has been assured. The revolution in the victorious country is not a self-sufficient entity but an aid to hasten the development and support of revolution in other countries" (Stalin).

"The task is to do the utmost possible in *one* country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries." "A series of terrible clashes between the bourgeois states and the Soviet Union is inevitable" (Lenin). Stalin has reaffirmed these views, as when he states that "the victory of the revolution in at least several countries is needed to guarantee the first Socialist Country against intervention."

The overthrow of Capitalism and the development of Soviet Socialism in Russia, which made the Communist leaders rulers of a State as well as leaders of "the Party," has brought them face to face with constructive tasks and led them to adapt their tactics and adopt policies which seem a departure from the principles of materialism and permanent revolution. The greatest of all the contradictions is that between the theory that Communism will cause the State to "wither away" and the practice which has made the State an all powerful autocrat. In reality Soviet policy is constantly adapting itself to changing conditions, both internal and external. But the ideology and programme remain unchanged.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is the rule—unrestricted by law and based on force—of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, a rule enjoying the sympathy and support of the labouring and exploited masses" (Lenin). "The dictatorship of the

proletariat, the transition from Capitalism to Communism, must not be regarded as a fleeting period of 'super-revolutionary' acts and decrees, but an entire historical era, replete with civil wars and external conflicts, with organizational work and economic construction" . . . . "This historical era is needed to create the economic and cultural prerequisites for the complete victory of Socialism" (Stalin).

The tactics change but the strategy, which is the Communist transformation of the world, remains the unchanging aim; and the world victory of Communism "is going to be a bloody, violent, undemocratic and lawless job." These are the tenets and doctrine which Stalin sets out in his equivalent of "Mein Kampf," *Problems of Leninism*.

In retrospect, therefore, the New Economic Policy of the early 1920's in the Soviet Union, which seemed to favour capitalist rather than socialist forces, was a tactical retreat to prepare the way for a major strategic socialist success on the economic front. Also, "Popular Front" policy was dictated by the need to meet the immediate Nazi and Japanese threats to the Soviet Union : it did *not* mean the end of Communist hostility to the non-revolutionary socialist and trade union leaders or movement.

#### **Connection between Soviet and Communist Foreign Policies.**

The first aim of Stalin and his colleagues has been, through all the changes of short-term policy, to complete the work of the October revolution of 1917 by developing in the Soviet Union a system of Soviet Socialism which they are expanding into Communism. This has meant sweeping revolutionary economic changes, such as a rapid industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture, with all their ruthless effects upon the lives of worker and peasant.

This economic and social revolution has been accompanied by an unceasing propaganda campaign to convince the Soviet people of the inevitability and the advantages of what is happening to them and make their ideas and habits conform to the theory and practice of the new system. All the resources of modern propaganda under State control have been brought to bear on this indoctrination of the Russian people in Communist principles. Soviet Russia was born of a revolution ; after 1917 the propaganda campaign was mainly directed towards consolidating the revolution. But it is impossible to separate Russian policy from Communist policy. In foreign affairs fear is a large ingredient of the present bellicose and obstructive attitude of the U.S.S.R. There was always the fear that the capitalist states might join together to attack the Soviet Union so long as she was economically weak and this attitude has led the Soviet Government to make use of Social Democratic and indeed any potentially sympathetic elements in other countries to promote Soviet security and defence. In fact this policy of temporary flirtation with Socialists, Liberals, Pacifists, discontented minorities and any others with whom a united front could be fixed up against some common object of hate, had, like the penetration

of Trade Unions, *at once a defensive and an offensive purpose*. The immediate need of helping to defend the country of the Socialist experiment, which is Russia, was a sufficiently cogent reason for this policy of using all available allies in every country at any time. But to the best brains of international Communism, such as Dimitrov and Togliatti (Ercoli), the architects of the "New United Front Policy" at the 1935 World Congress, and Stalin himself, this was also a means of gaining vantage points for the world revolutionary process. The two motives have not infrequently conflicted. But in the event the policy of exploiting "progressive" and opposition forces in other countries has yielded good dividends. When the unexpected outcome of the recent war presented the Soviet Government with half Europe, not only were their agents in a position to overthrow the moderates and nationalists with whom they had consorted in the countries overrun by the Red Army, but Soviet Communism was assured, through the Resistance Movements which it had largely permeated, of key positions in all the "liberated countries" of Western Europe and of the support of well-placed "fellow travellers" in the countries of its major Allies as well.

A very real fear of the capitalist world, coupled with the anti-capitalist doctrine and ideology of Marx as developed by Lenin, has been behind the unceasing attacks against the capitalist system and the tactical programme of using and fomenting the sympathy and support everywhere of a variety of forces who may help to divide and weaken it from within.

### **THE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA MACHINE.**

The Communist Party as a whole is the Soviet "Ministry of Propaganda." From the Party Central Committee through provincial and district centres down to individuals in local party cells the network of propaganda administration and agitation is planned in the Soviet Union itself to cover every aspect of State and individual life. The aim is to explain and interpret Soviet and Party policy to ordinary Party members who in their turn influence the population in general. The Party member is essentially an "activist," who "mobilises" the "masses." The Party from top to bottom is a closely organized body, a State within the State, sworn to unquestioning obedience to the directives of the Central Committee.

### **Uniformity and Repetition.**

Only one view of events or policy is possible in Russia. The Press, the wireless and all other visual and oral means of communicating the written and spoken word are always preaching the same views about the same things throughout the Soviet Union, and the same is true now of all the controlled countries of Eastern Europe, their press and their radio stations. The Central Committee's Agitation and Propaganda Department (Agitprop) and Publishing Department, and the Soviet News Agency, Tass, are essential parts of this uniform propaganda machine. All news, and particularly foreign news, is carefully selected and interpreted.

The Communist Party, which is the leading force in all State and public institutions, industrial, agricultural, educational and technical organizations and groups, has a chain system of party Schools and Courses for instruction in Marxism-Leninism. It also runs "staff colleges" in which Communist leaders from many countries of Europe, Asia and America have been trained. Ho Chi-minh, the Indochinese "progressive" leader, is one of the many who received his training in this way in Moscow. Leninism is a compulsory subject in all Soviet Universities and higher educational institutions. It is an integral part of all other subjects, from botany to economics. There is an unceasing output of Party literature on an unbelievable scale. The *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* has been issued in 31 million copies in many languages. A reprint of the authorised English translation published in the U.S.S.R. in 1939 was reprinted in Britain in 1943 by the Corbett Publishing Co. The English translation of *Problems of Leninism* by J. Stalin was published in Moscow by the State Publishing House of Political Literature at the end of the war in 1945. Such books are the Bible and textbooks of Communism, yet very few people take the trouble to read them. They are indeed long, repetitive, wearisome and entirely humourless. They are nevertheless of crucial importance for our understanding of one of the principal dynamic forces in world affairs. They contain a blueprint for action for the Stalin bloc of Communists throughout the world. Their declared aim is to propagate and direct "the theory and practice of the Proletarian Revolution, the total victory of Communism." For the first time in the history of social development, runs the Soviet line of argument, "this ideology has become embodied in 200 million people—the Soviet people—who have established Socialism over one sixth of the globe." "Socialism" is the Marxist precursor of the final "Communist Society,"—the precise dimensions of which remain, however, comparatively little elucidated. "This new Socialist consciousness is centred on boundless devotion to the objective law established by the classics of Leninism and Marxism and the supreme Soviet State." "What is our country (i.e. Russia) as it builds Socialism but a base for world revolution?"

No political creed is so overburdened with the superstition of words as Communism. To adapt the conversation between Alice and Humpty Dumpty in "Through the Looking Glass"—"I don't know what you mean by 'dialectical materialism,'" said Alice. "Of course you don't—till I tell you. I meant 'there's a nice knock-down argument for you.'" "But," said Alice, "'dialectical materialism' doesn't mean 'a nice knock-down argument' . . . ." "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful voice, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less." "The question is," said Alice, "whether you *can* make words mean so many different things." "The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master—that's all."

### **Soviet Propaganda Abroad.**

The same principles govern Soviet propaganda for consumption

abroad. All channels of information pour out a steady stream of comment, which is calculated to give maximum currency to Soviet views and theories and inspire crude criticism of everything and everybody standing in their way. The threat of effective action by the "Capitalist Powers" against the Soviet system and economy haunts the minds of those responsible for this aggressive attitude, as well as fear for their own internal position and stability. The basic motive, however, is to assert the Communist ideology on which the Soviet State is based.

Soviet propaganda during the war was adapted to meet the military situation and inspire patriotism. The ideological aspect was modified to meet these national war aims and led to the view that the Soviet Union would lend itself to greater international co-operation. This interpretation confused tactics with strategy.

Since the end of the war Soviet leaders have made it abundantly clear that they base their policy on a strictly Marxist-Leninist analysis of world development. Their view of the general world situation follows logically from dialectical and historical materialist principles: they think in terms of a struggle for mastery between the rising forces of Socialism and the decaying forces of Capitalism. In their view the war has strengthened the forces of Socialism both by proving the power and stability of Soviet Russia in its victory and also by the fact that Communist control has been established in all the countries of Eastern Europe, and by the struggle of colonial peoples for freedom and independence. On the other hand it has weakened the forces of Capitalism by the defeat of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Imperialist Japan. But Capitalism remains powerful in important parts of the world and the Soviet leaders believe that it will resist the growing strength of Socialism and try to overcome its inherent contradictions by checking the political claims of the working classes, by intensifying imperialism and above all by opposing the Soviet Union, the home and headquarters of Socialism. They bitterly oppose Socialists and Trades Unionists who refuse to act upon the theory of class war, and they will not admit any compromise, such as a gradual transition from Capitalism to Socialism. Such ideas are branded as the "vicious bourgeois teaching" of "reformism."

#### **1848-1948.**

Another important angle of Soviet propaganda is praise and support of the new regimes in Eastern Europe. The Governments of these countries, composed of a "peoples' front" and based on a Communist-Socialist bloc, are claimed to be more truly democratic than Western bourgeois Governments. This campaign of support for the "New Democracies" is closely linked with the All-Slav movement. This old idea, always a tool of Russian imperialist policy, as was the brotherhood of the Orthodox peoples, is not part of the Marxist-Leninist ideology but is proving a useful and important implement of Soviet propaganda.

The attack on capitalist imperialism goes on all the time, varied to suit events on the international stage. Propaganda on this

always assumes active hostility to the Soviet Union. The attack is always against the United States, which is considered the rising capitalist power, while Britain and her Empire are declining power.

The full weight of this propaganda against the capitalist powers, has been shown above, has been thrown against the E.R.P., and events in Europe are moving quickly into an alignment of the "two opposite camps." The Western world is joining forces to withstand the pressure of the U.S.S.R. and its fifth column warfare. There is no easy solution of the world problem which arises from the challenge of the Soviet System. That problem is not merely one of power politics and international transactions. It is a fundamental clash in ideas and beliefs about man and society. It is the greatest folly to suppose that Stalin and the Politburo do not believe in the ideology which they preach. Lenin, and Stalin after him, have been speaking and writing in terms of dialectical and historical materialism for over half a century and Soviet policy is only intelligible in terms of Marxism-Leninism. The "Communist Manifesto" was published in February 1848, exactly a century ago. The broadcasts celebrating the centenary in Moscow might be summed up as the expression of the conviction by the Soviet Government that Communism is now in the most militant phase of its history and that the world has never been so ripe for an attack by Communism. In fact the principles of the Communist Manifesto and of Leninism received a practical example in action by the *coup d'état* in Czechoslovakia. All the disturbing actions of the Soviet Government since the end of the war have been in accordance with the dictates of historical materialism; the strategy and tactics of the struggle for World Communism are still to be found in the ideas of the Manifesto and in the relentless laws laid down by Marxism-Leninism. These aims, in the words of the Manifesto, can be achieved only "by means of the violent overthrow of the entire existing social order."

---

*For further supplies of this Survey on Leninism and terms of subscription for Surveys on other international subjects, apply to the Director, British Society, Benjamin Franklin House, 36 Craven Street, London, W.C.2.*

## Bibliography.

The following is a selection from numerous works in English which may aid an understanding of various aspects of Soviet Russia and of Communism.

- BERDYAEV, N. The Russian Idea. (1947). 18/-
- BORKENAU, F. The Communist International. (1938). 12/6
- CHAMBERLAIN, W. H. Soviet Russia. (1930).
- CRANKSHAW, E. Russia and the Russians. (1947). 9/6
- DALLIN and NICOLAEVSKY. Forced Labour in Soviet Russia. (1948). 25/-
- EASTMAN. Marxism, Is it Science ? (1941).
- FISCHER, J. The Scared Men in the Kremlin. (1947). 10/6
- GREGORY, J. S. and SHAVE, D. W. The U.S.S.R. : A Geographical Survey. (1944). 21/-
- KRAVCHENKO, V. I chose Freedom (The personal and political life of a Soviet official). (1947). 15/-
- LENIN. The Essentials of Lenin. (Selections from Lenin's works) 2 Vols. (1947). 25/-
- LINDSAY, A. D. An introduction to Karl Marx. (1925). 2/6
- LOVELL, M. The Soviet way of Life. (1948). 4/6
- ORAS, A. Baltic Eclipse. (1948).
- PLAMENATZ, J. What is Communism ? (1947). 6/-
- STALIN, J. Problems of Leninism. (1945). 8/6
- STALIN, J. History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). Short course. (1943). 4/6
- SUMNER, B. H. Survey of Russian History. (1946). 15/-
- TROTSKY, L. The Russian Revolution. 3 Vols. (1932-1933).
- TROTSKY, L. Stalin. (1948).
- WEBB, S. and B. Soviet Communism. (1935).